

*583 upon the preferred form of marriage. It is therefore both convenient
103 and appropriate for us to begin our description of marriage practices
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582 in Hsiachichou with the preferred patrilocal marriage.

582 Theoretically at least, a preferred marriage may involve any
178 man and woman previously unmarried who are not of the same surname,
[183] marriage between people of the same surname being considered incestuous.

In fact, however, the selection of a bride in Hsiachichou has always been guided by other equally important though somewhat less formal considerations. At the beginning of the period with which we will be concerned marriage between persons of different mainland origins was unthinkable even when both parties were speakers of Hokkien. Frequent armed conflicts between the Changchou and Chuanchou sectors of the society created a strong sense of antagonism and mutual suspicion, and as a result ethnic lines were sharply drawn and seldom violated. As we have mentioned in discussing the general character of the village, it was not until the early 1920's that the first Changchou woman married into Hsiachichou, a Chuanchou village. More recently, this particular distinction has lost some of its former significance. One elderly villager told us that "Changchou people still tell their children to marry a person from Changchou, and Chuanchou people still tell their sons to marry a Chuanchou girl," but despite such attitudes marriages between the two groups have been less uncommon during the last twenty
178 years. Although one can still identify families of different origins
• 186 by the gods they worship and the way in which they sacrifice to their ancestors, many younger people are unaware of the significance of these

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178 differences. When asked where their ancestors originated on the main-
● 126 land, several younger villagers told us that they didn't know. "That's
something you should ask the old people about."

186 But while the ethnic lines distinguishing the various Hokkien
648 groups have blurred with time; there still remains a sharp distinction
171 between the island's two major language groups, the Hokkien and the
Hakka. People can now talk in a disinterested manner about differences
between Changchou and Chuanchou customs, but it is always with a cer-
tain amount of scorn that one compares the ways of the Hakka and the
Hokkien. On their return from the burial site a Hokkien funeral
party always stops at every stream or roadway to invite the soul of the
deceased to cross the barrier. After explaining to us that this was so
"the soul will always be able to find its way home," one villager
then noted, "but the Hakka don't do this. They don't care whether
their ancestors can find their way back or not." As a result of such
prejudices, marriages between the two groups are still uncommon.
Although Hsiachichou is only a few miles from an area in which the
majority of the population is Hakka, our genealogies include only two
marriages with a Hakka, and both of these occurred within the past five
years.

186 Whatever the villagers' attitude toward marrying Hakka, it is not
582 nearly so negative as their attitude toward marrying what they speak
648 of as "mainlanders," those Chinese who have settled on Taiwan since
World War II. One reason is that many village parents fear that if
they allow a daughter to marry a mainlander they may never see her

- 186 again. As one woman put it, "I don't want my daughter to marry a main-
582 lander. 'If you marry a chicken you have to follow a chicken, and
648 if you marry a dog, you have to follow a dog.' If she married a main-
lander she would have to go with him, and then I might never see her
again." Considering the government's insistence that a return to the
mainland is imminent, this particular fear is not an irrational one, at
least from the point of view of people in Hsiachichou, but the general
attitude of the village towards marrying mainland Chinese probably
contains more prejudice than reason. The mainlanders are seen as immoral,
irresponsible, and generally lacking in human qualities, a view for
which the villagers find some justification in the behavior of the local
police and the military. One man told us that no matter what happened
he wouldn't allow his daughter to marry a mainlanders. "If they say
they are going to go they go, and they don't care if their wives and
children are alive or dead." When one village family did allow their
daughter to marry a Cantonese policeman, their neighbors were incredulous.
As the woman herself told us later, "Everyone said to me, 'Aren't you
afraid that he will sell you? Aren't you afraid that he won't want
you after you are married awhile? Don't you worry that he will always
be beating you?'"

- 582 But while the people of Hsiachichou are thus prejudiced against
marriage with other ethnic groups, they do not favor marriage within
the same community. To contract a marriage within the village is con-
sidered dangerous "because then your daughter-in-law will always be
running home to say things to her parents." The villagers recognize that

573 would a son. In some cases the man who makes this kind of marriage even changes his surname to that of his wife. If he doesn't, at least one of his children, usually the first born, bears the wife's surname to provide her family with genealogical descendants who will maintain their graves and carry out ancestral rites.

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Lim Hue-lieng had two sons who out of family pride alone would fulfill these duties to him. Lim So-lan, however, had little or no status in his family and without a son-in-law who was obliged to support her, she might very well suffer after his death. And, what was to become of her after her own death if she had no one to provide for her in the other world with offerings from this one? Even if Lim Hue-lieng rejected, as do many young people of the present generation, the literal belief in the life of souls after physical death, he was pained by the incompleteness, the transitoriness, of his second family and wished to provide for it a future, a future which for a Taiwanese exists only in having descendants. His relationship with his sons by Lim Apou was not close and, at best, formal. That he should wish to give permanence to his second family with whom his emotions and personal loyalties rested is not surprising. Moreover, he was excessively fond of Gioq-ki and he hated the thought of her leaving home.

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All of Lim Hue-lieng's objections might have been overcome in one way or another had it not been for the origin of his daughter's suitor, Chang Jong-kuei. Even after fifty years under Japanese colonial administration, the Taiwanese viewed the restoration of their island to the Chinese government as a liberation. Their expectations were not fulfilled. Because of several tragic events followed by innumerable misunderstandings, there exists on Taiwan an attitude of scorn and distrust between the Chinese native to the island and those who came after the establishment of the Communist regime on mainland China. It is not my place here to evaluate either side but simply to point out that Lim Hue-lieng's reaction to having a mainlander as a son-in-law was in no way unusual. When his eldest son heard of the alliance proposed by his half-sister, he was as angry as his father at the shame the girl was bringing to their family. Only the intervention of some wiser friends prevented him from solving the problem in a way that his father might have used at his age, a gathering of lo-mua friends. A half-brother's anger, however, is of a different sort than a father's. Gioq-ki's father was both angry and hurt. Lim So-lan told me, "Gioq-ki wouldn't pay any attention to her father. He tried every-

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thing. When he warned her that she couldn't live at home or at her grandfather's, she answered, 'All right, I won't come back here at all.' She moved to Taipei and lived with Chang. My mother and I cried every day for hours and her father got angrier and angrier. He said he would kill her if he found her. She made his life miserable. He told me once, 'All my life I have been very careful of my family's name and I have scorned other people who did such things as this. Never did I think my own daughter would marry one of them.'

"We hated Chang for tricking our daughter away from us. He knew she was our only daughter and his heart must be very hard that he could steal a family's only child.

"Later my husband's friends told him that he must forget all this and let them get married. We finally had to agree. There was nothing more we could do because Gioq-ki was about to have a child.

"One thing is very strange. My husband threatened to kill Gioq-ki and this man, but after they were married and his grandson was born, he treated them very well. I think he was really fond of them by the time he died."

Not long after the birth of his grandson, Lim Hue-lieng fell ill, evidently from something connected with his injuries. His last illness was long and trying, but it wasn't until his death was imminent that his father had him moved to the family home. A relative of the family told me of those last weeks: "Lim So-lan took care of him all alone while he was ill and during the last stages she was with him day and night. Lim A-pou didn't seem to pay any attention to him at all and acted as though she thought, 'This doesn't concern me.' When Lim Hue-lieng died, So-lan cried for days and days, but his wife, Lim A-pou, didn't grieve at all."

Lim So-lan told me very simply, "The first few months after he died I didn't want to go on living. I spent a lot of time with my mother then. He was very good to my family and even though he was not really my husband, I lived with him for a long time. This year I will have a tablet made and burn incense for him on Ch'ing Ming Chieh."

Very little of my information about Lim Hue-lieng's life came from his younger brother, Lim Chieng-cua. Lim Chieng-cua was quite frank about the various roles the lo mua have played in the history of the village and its present affairs. His opinion of them is not always negative, but he always uses the term lo mua to refer to a collective group and rarely to a specific person or his contributions. On occasion

Narrow Hearts

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simply another well-wisher. Needless to say, his wife did not accept his visit as a casual courtesy. Before long she too turned up at Lau Kim-chiok's party in search of her husband. He ordered her to leave and she did, but when he returned home hard words were exchanged.

My interpreter heard Chui-ien crying in our kitchen and while trying to calm her, listened to her expressions of misery. "That stinking prostitute is home. She never lets my family live in peace. He [Lim Chieng-cua] went to see her the minute he heard she was back. He couldn't even wait for one night. That Hakka woman! [Lau Kim-chiok may have been adopted from Hakka parents, but the Taiwanese often use this as an insulting curse, the assumption being that Hakka are bad-hearted and generally low in morality]. She is most able to tempt people. She is full of sweet talk and honey. And he always listens to her temptings! The mosquito net was already set up when I got there and I'm sure he was about to get in bed with her. He hits me because of her and that is what has made me so sickly. I wasn't that way before."

"You don't know how fierce that prostitute is. How thick the skin on her face is! [i.e., you can't insult her.] Even worse, the family in the next lane are her allies. Before she went to jail, if my husband spent an evening at home, that prostitute would send them to come and call him out. Then five or six of them would go to see a play or eat and drink and my husband would pay for it all. This is a good chance for them now that she is back. They will be sure to come calling him out now just like before."

Lim A-pou made little effort to hide her amusement at her sister-in-law's predicament and at her behavior. "That woman's heart is too narrow. She should wait for awhile and see if they go back together again. Then she can go cause trouble if she wants to. Yesterday was her first day back and lots of people went to see her. Why doesn't Chui-ien think before she runs out scolding. No wonder everybody knows all about it. I was already asleep last night so I didn't know anything about their fight, but early this morning it was all over the village. A long time ago I said that as soon as Lau Kim-chiok came back we'd have a good play to see. It was true. And on the first day!"

During the next few days I noticed some very peculiar behavior on the part of Lim Chieng-cua's older children. Usually they were out of the house most of the day, coming in for meals or snacks or to pick up a ball. Now they seemed to be in and out of the house constantly,

- 186 The Taiwanese seemingly equate some Mainlanders
648 with villagers in Fukien, although as previously suggested,
the Mainlanders were not representative of rural Fukien.
This mistaken identity helps support the villagers' belief
that the Taiwanese are now significantly different from
the Fukiensesse still in China. It would seem that the
real differences are probably not great. That is, the
differences in cultural behavior of the people of Taiwan
as compared with those from Fukien was probably no greater
than the differences between the latter and the people
from Kansu or Hunan. The differences between urban and
rural types are probably considerable in any location.
However, for predicting behavior, particularly motivated
behavior, subjective reality may be more important than
objective reality. Taiwanese and Mainlander are self-
identified as different groups. Each is an "in group"
and treats the other as an "out group." The Taiwanese gen-
erally feel that the present government is controlled by
"outsiders."

- 621 Sanlei village as well as the entire li has pros-
pered during the last twenty years subsequent to the re-
[433] turn of control to the Chinese. Agricultural techniques
have continued to progress, and production is at its
[474] highest levels in history. The farmers' association has
[241] been most active in introducing improved techniques and
providing supplies such as insecticides, new seeds, and
fertilizer.

494 their families are permitted to ride. The narrow-gauge
railroad was eliminated and coal is now hauled by trucks.
655 The government Wine and Tobacco Monopoly was establishing
a branch tobacco processing factory half way between Talei
[464] Li and Hsin Tien just as we were leaving Taiwan. This was
expected to open additional employment opportunities in
the immediate area.

511 Sanlei village is now enjoying its greatest economic
prosperity according to all objective indicators.
Moreover, health care is better than ever before in history
and the death rate is at its lowest point (see next
section). Educational opportunities too have reached a

648 peak. Nevertheless, the period of the Japanese occupation
829 has been greatly romanticized. Men over 35 are proud of

[191] their ability to speak Japanese and a few long for the

[86] return of the Japanese. Middle-aged villagers argue that
they have been ruled by "outsiders" for a long period of

648 time, first the Japanese and then the Mainlanders. Moreover,

829 over, many agree that the Japanese did a better job for

511 they claim under Japanese control, prices were more stable,
officials were more honest, and one did not fear robbers.

One fifty-year old man in a group once said that when the
Japanese were here, one day's labor paid for three day's
basic living but that now it took two day's labor to pay
for three day's basic living. The group all nodded in

agreement. Since this statement failed to accord with the

511 other kinds of physical evidence, we contrasted the average
648 day's wage and the average cost of rice and pork under the
829 Japanese and under the current conditions and by computa-
tion proved that a day's labor now bought more pork or
more rice than it had under the Japanese. The men felt
that there was either something wrong with their memory
of rates or prices or that our figuring now was incorrect.
They knew they earned more under the Japanese in real in-
come. It is plain that the facts and beliefs are not in
accord. Probably adding to the romanticization of the
period is the fact that the Japanese were few in number
when compared with the Mainlanders. In a typical week for
instance, only about a dozen or so Japanese appeared in
Talei Li. Today, with the Communication Bureau, the
school, the police, and various salesmen, several hundred
Mainlanders may be observed in a single week.

171 Government propagandists, the schools, and the army
186 are all engaged in an attempt to overcome the antagonisms
648 on both sides. The incidence of inter-marriages between
groups is increasing. The eventual goal of the government
is a united Taiwan but success is not certain. Chinese
history provides many examples of two culturally different
groups, racially near identical, living side by side in
the same area for hundreds of years while preserving dis-
tinct identities. For example, a minority group of Hakka
have maintained and still maintain a separate ethnic and

171 linguistic identity after a residence of several hundred
• 186 years in Fukien from whence the majority of Taiwanese mi-
648 grated. This separate identity has extended into Taiwan-
[871] ese and Hakka settlements on Taiwan. Currently, the en-
[701] forced use of a single language, Mandarin, in the schools
and the army (both of which are compulsory for males
while schools are compulsory for females) should aid in
breaking down the communication barriers and help lead to
amalgamation between Mainlanders and Taiwanese.

The Population

000 The total population of Taiwan in 1966 was 13,383,357
(United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1968:808). There has
been a tremendous expansion in recent years. The 1940
Japanese census listed 6,077,478 which grew to 6,360,000
by 1946 at the time of the Restoration (Hsieh, 1964:206).
There was a great influx of Mainlanders following the loss
of mainland China to the communists, undoubtedly exceeding
a million people.

Taiwan's population can be divided into a number
of categories as is done regularly in the official records.
With approximate official percentages listed for 1963,
the categories are foreigners (negligible), aborigines (1),
Taiwanese (86), and Mainlanders (13) (Hsieh, 1964:206).
The Taiwanese may be further divided into Hakka, Hokkien,
and minor numbers of others.

162 question about how many Mainlanders are living in the area,
829 he is rarely cited.

• 186 The ethnic identity of the Taiwanese is very strong.

582 The villagers uniformly claim that the ethnic or sub-cultural distinctions cited above are very important.

Marriage between such groups is considered very bad and undoubtedly a cause of problems. The barber in my village who was seeking a wife once asked if I knew of any eligible girls. Since I suggested an attractive conductress on the local bus, my quality rating as a matchmaker immediately dropped very low for the girl was a Hakka. Not only would marriage to a Hakka be against the dictates of common sense, it might be very bad for his business as he could easily lose many customers. The story of my suggestion was repeated several times, always causing amusement. It was interesting that it never proved necessary to specify the girl's ethnic identity. As soon as she was identified as the young bus conductress, everyone knew she was Hakka. I was often amazed at the ability of people to distinguish at a distance Mainlanders, Taiwanese, and Hakka.

162 The distribution of the village population by age and sex is indicated in Figure 3. This pyramid is a fairly normal example of a population with a high birth rate and a rapidly falling death rate with only one serious deviancy from what might be expected: the age bracket from 20 to 29

191 soon after graduation from grade school unless the grad-
197 uate works in town. Mandarin and Taiwanese are usually
mis-called "Chinese dialects" even though they are not
mutually intelligible (Fairbank and Reischauer, 1958:17).

191 Because of the aforementioned Mainlander-Taiwanese antag-
197 onism, children do not employ Mandarin outside of school.

• 186 Mandarin is seemingly equated with Mainlanders. A few
people, otherwise quite friendly, would not speak Mandarin
with us. They understood for they answered my Mandarin
questions in Taiwanese immediately through an interpreter.
According to native Mandarin speakers, the Taiwanese have
an improper accent when speaking Mandarin. The jokes
that are often made about their accents also serve to
inhibit attempts at speaking Mandarin.

191 Japanese is the third most important language in
Talei Li. Many men, especially the more influential ones
between the ages of 35 and 60, speak Japanese as do a few
women in the same age range. One woman who speaks Japan-
ese was a teacher in the Japanese school system. She and
her husband are the only two villagers who still speak
Japanese regularly together but they are not teaching it
to any of their ten children. Men seem proud of their
ability in Japanese and were most pleased to display their
talents with our assistants.

There are other minor languages spoken in the vil-
lage. One village woman speaks in addition to Taiwanese